

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 ACDA-12 OMB-01 /089 W  
-----009781 090739Z /21

R 090612Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0979  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMCONSUL MUNICH  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USMISSION USNATO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUCHAREST 5542

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: RO, UR  
SUBJECT: A FRIGID CEAUSESCU/BREZHNEV SUMMIT IN THE CRIMEA

REF: BUCHAREST 5470

1. SUMMARY. ROMANIAN MEDIA DESCRIPTION OF AUGUST 7 CEAUSESCU-BREZHNEV MEETING IN CRIMEA GIVES A CLEAR AND PRESUMABLY DELIBERATE IMPRESSION OF A STANDOFF, BEST EXPRESSED BY FRONTPAGE PHOTOGRAPHS IN ALL NEWSPAPERS OF THE TWO GLOWERING ACROSS A TABLE AT EACH OTHER. MEETING RESULTED ONLY IN "AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" IN A "SINCERE" ATMOSPHERE, PERHAPS THE LEAST FLATTERING TERMS IN ROMANIAN INTERPARTY RHETORIC. WITH HUA KUO-FENG DUE HERE NEXT WEEK, CHINA MAY HAVE BEEN  
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A PRINCIPAL TOPIC. END SUMMARY.

2. OFFICIAL RCP DAILY SCINTEIA AUGUST 8 CARRIES EXTREMELY BRIEF ACCOUNT OF CEAUSESCU'S FOURTEEN-HOUR VISIT TO CRIMEA PREVIOUS DAY, INCLUDING DEPARTURE FROM BLACK SEA PORT OF CONSTANTA'S AIRPORT AT 0830, ARRIVAL IN CRIMEA, MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, AND RETURN TO CONSTANTA AT 2230. PICTURE

HEADING STORY CLEARLY CONVEYS TONE -- A GRIM (ANGRY?)  
CEAUSESCU GLOWERING ACROSS TABLE AT A SULLEN BREZHNEV.  
STORY STATES CEAUSESCU, ACCOMPANIED ONLY BY FONMIN ANDREI  
AND PRESIDENTIAL COUNSELOR CONSTANTIN MITEA (ALSO CHIEF  
EDITOR OF SCINTEIA) MET WITH BREZHNEV WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED  
BY FONMIN GROMYKO, PARTY SECRETARY K.V. CHERNIENKO, AND PARTY  
ADVISER A.I. BLATOV. DELEGATIONS HAD "AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS"  
ON SUCH SUBJECTS AS EXPANDED ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITHIN  
CONTEXT OF CEMA LONG-TERM PROGRAMS, FOREIGN POLICY (WHICH  
RECEIVED "UNUSUAL ATTENTION"), DISARMAMENT, AND DETENTE.  
STORY ALSO MENTIONS "INALIENABLE RIGHT OF EACH PEOPLE TO  
LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE, WITHOUT ANY OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE  
IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS." ENTIRE TOP PARTY/STATE LEADERSHIP  
TURNED OUT AT CONSTANTA AIRPORT FOR CEAUSESCU'S DEPARTURE  
AND RETURN, IN MARKED CONTRAST TO SOVIET AIRPORT RECEPTION  
COMMITTEE WHOSE MOST SENIOR MEMBER WAS CRIMEAN REGIONAL  
FIRST SECRETARY MAKARENKO. ACCORDING TO SCINTEIA, COMMON  
WORKINGMEN WERE ALSO AT CONSTANTA AIRPORT TO DEMONSTRATE  
THEIR "FULL SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES  
OF OUR PARTY AND STATE." ATMOSPHERE OF BREZHNEV MEETING  
WAS CHARACTERIZED AS "SINCERE AND FRIENDLY".

3. ALTHOUGH CRIMEA STORY AND PICTURE WERE ON FRONT PAGE,  
SPACE USUALLY RESERVED FOR TOP STORY OF THE DAY CONTAINED  
BOX REPORTING THE THIRD CONSECUTIVE DAY OF CARDS AND LETTERS  
SUPPORTING CONCEPTS CONTAINED IN CEAUSESCU'S AUGUST 3 SPEECH  
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(REFTEL), MOST OF WHICH WOULD BE AT LEAST ANNOYING TO  
SOVIETS.

4. SCINTEIA ALSO CARRIED LEAD EDITORIAL COMMENTING SECTION  
IN THIS SPEECH ON RELATIONS AMONG "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES, WITH  
HEAVY STRESS ON NEED FOR SOLUTION OF DIFFERENCES THROUGH  
"OPEN DISCUSSIONS AT PARTY TO PARTY AND LEADERSHIP TO LEADER-  
SHIP LEVELS." ROMANIA'S INTENTION TO MAINTAIN CLOSE RELATIONS  
WITH ALL "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES IS ONCE AGAIN REAFFIRMED,  
SOVIET UNION AND CHINA ARE SPECIFICALLY CITED, PASSAGE OF  
CEAUSESCU SPEECH REJECTING ANY TENDENCY TO TAKE SIDES IN AN  
INTER-PARTY DISPUTE OR TO PLAY OFF ONE SIDE AGAINST THE  
OTHER IS UNDERLINED, AND USUAL ROMANIAN FORMULATION OR  
INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL  
AFFAIRS IS INCLUDED.

5. FURING DCM'S AUGUST 8 CALL TO INTRODUCE  
NEW POLOFF WITECKI, MFA DIRECTOR (FOR "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES)  
VASILE SANDRU PREDICTABLY PROVIDED NO REAL INSIGHTS INTO  
CRIMEA TRIP. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN MORE REMARKABLE IF VISIT  
HAD NOT TAKEN PLACE THAN IT DID, HE SAID WITH LAUGH.  
SHORT VISITS HAVE BEEN NORM FOR NUMBER OF YEARS, ALONG

WITH SHORT MEDIA REPORTS. HE HAD NOT BEEN THERE, SO  
COULD NOT COMMENT ON HOW MUCH OF TALK WAS BILATERAL AND  
HOW MUCH MULTILATERAL, BUT CONVERSATION HAD NOT "DEPARTED  
FROM USUAL:" BIG PICTURE TREATMENT OF BILATERAL TOPICS,  
ESPECIALLY ECONOMIC, AND MULTILATERAL ISSUES. IT WOULD BE  
A MISTAKE THESE DAYS, SANDRU CONCLUDED, TO PUT COMMUNIQUE  
LANGUAGE UNDER MICROSCOPE: "SINCERE AND FRIENDLY" HAD  
BEEN USED BEFORE, IT IS HARD TO TELL WHETHER "FRIENDLY OR  
"COMRADELY" IS NICER, AND DRAFTERS ARE ALWAYS SCRAMBLING  
FOR NEW FORMULATIONS. SANDRU ADMITTED THAT SOVIETS HAD  
INVITED CEAUSESCU FOR A VACATION, BUT THEN WANDERED OFF  
INTO MUSINGS ABOUT HOW CEAUSESCU NEVER TAKES WHAT OTHER MEN  
WOULD CALL VACATION, STREAM OF VISITORS TO NEPTUN, HOW  
IMPOSSIBLE IT WOULD BE TO RECEIVE THEM IN CRIMEA. "VACATION,"  
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HE CONCLUDED BLANDLY, ACTUALLY MEANT EXCHANGE OF VIEWS IN  
INFORMAL SETTING.

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USMISSION USNATO  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L FINAL SECTION OF 2 BUCHAREST 5542

6. AT HUNGARIAN EXHIBIT OPENING AUGUST 8, SOVIET MINISTER-COUNSELOR B.I. MINAKOV WAS MORE DOWNBEAT, IN DETAIL IF NOT IN GENERAL. (NOVOSTI DEPUTY PRESENT HAD ALREADY TOLD DCM ONLY AMBASSADOR WAS AT AIRPORT DEPARTURE AND RETURN AUGUST 7, SO SOVIET PRESS REPORTED FROM CRIMEA.) MINAKOV SAID HE HAD NO REPORT YET OF CONVERSATIONS, BUT SIGNIFICANCE OF VISIT SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED. CEAUSESCU'S AUGUST 3 SPEECH HAD ALREADY SET FORTH ROMANIAN POSITIONS IN GREAT DETAIL, AND THERE WAS "PROBABLY" TIMING CONNECTION WITH CRIMEA TRIP. CEAUSESCU HAD ADDRESSED SOME TOPICS NEVER TREATED BEFORE LIKE THIS; WITH SOME SOVIETS AGREED, WITH OTHERS NOT. DISCUSSIONS HAD CERTAINLY TOUCHED ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT; HE "PERSONALLY" COULD NOT AGREE WITH WHAT CEAUSESCU HAD SAID ABOUT MARXISM-LENINISM. CONFIDENTIAL

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MINAKOV PROFESSED TO BE CONVINCED PASSAGES IN SPEECH ABOUT NEED TO AVOID POLEMICS BETWEEN "SOCIALIST" PARTIES AND STATES REFERRED MAINLY TO NEW TOUGH LETTER OF ALBANIAN CENTRAL COMMITTEE AGAINST CHINESE, WHICH HAD BEEN PUBLISHED. IT WAS TRUE CEAUSESCU HAD BEEN INVITED FOR VACATION, BUT HE HAD SAID HE WAS TOO BUSY. WHEN DCM REMARKED HELPFULLY VISIT WAS THEREFORE ON MUCH SAME FORMAT AS 1977, MINAKOV REPLIED THAT IN 1977 CEAUSESCU HAD HAD AUGUST 3 MINER'S TROUBLES; CLEAR IMPLICATION WAS THAT THIS YEAR THERE HAD BEEN NO EXCUSE.

7. COMMENT. VISIT IS IDENTICAL IN LENGTH, FORMAT AND SUPPORTING CAST (ANDREI/MITEA) TO 1977 QUICK TRIP (77 BUCHAREST 5908), BUT TONE THIS TIME IS MARKEDLY COLDER. CEAUSESCU/BREZHNEV MEETING ATMOSPHERE LAST YEAR WAS "CORDIAL AND FRIENDLY"; USE OF WORD "SINCERE" TO DESCRIBE 1978 SESSION STRIKES US AS NADIR OF ROMANIAN INTERPARTY LEXICOLOGY WHICH HAS BEEN USED ONLY SPARINGLY AT TIMES OF GREAT STRAIN IN SOVIET-ROMANIAN RELATIONS. INTERESTINGLY, BOTH EE SOURCES HERE AND ROMANIAN SOURCES IN MOSCOW (MOSCOW 18182) PREVIOUSLY STATED THAT CRIMEA VISIT WOULD LAST TWO DAYS; FACT IT DID NOT MAY INDICATE IT WAS CUT SHORT AS RESULT OF IMPASSE IN TALKS. WITH HUA KUO-FENG DUE HERE NEXT WEEK, CHINA WAS PROBABLY A PRINCIPAL TOPIC OF CONVERSATION. PLANNED GALA RECEPTION FOR HUA WILL PROVIDE A MARKED CONTRAST TO THE GLOOM FROM THE CRIMEA. AGGREY

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014